

**Tactics of Compellence and Normative Appeal**  
**March 6, 2020**  
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These data were used in two publications. First, they were used in my article with the *Journal of Global Security Studies* (posted online 2020), titled: “Secessionist Strategy and Tactical Variation in the Pursuit of Independence.” Second, they were used (and listed) in my forthcoming 2021 book with Cornell University Press. Please cite either publication when using the data.

The data on secessionist movements and the tactics of compellence are taken from my article with Louis Wasser in the *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (2019, 63(5): 1310-1336), titled “Does Violent Secessionism Work?” The data on tactics of normative appeal were generated for the 2020 article in the *Journal of Global Security Studies*.

The data on normative appeals were generated by a Research Assistant at the University of Sydney (Eda Gunaydin) who used Factiva (for post-1980 movements) and ProQuest (for pre-1980 cases – due to data availability). The RA searched on:

- “Name of movement,” and relevant variations. For example, for the Bakonjo secessionist movement, searches were also done on Baamba, Bamba, and Rwenzururu. For the Ambon movement, searches were also done on Moluccans, Amboina, and Ambonese.
- AND “secession” OR “secede” OR “independence” OR “sovereignty” OR “autonomy” OR “separatism.”

The resulting articles were taken as a source for direct quotations from leaders, supporters, and participants whose statements about their movements appealed to norms such as freedom of choice; decolonization; inherent sovereignty; and human rights. They were also a source for reported speech (i.e. where there was no direct speech from movement leaders, supporters or participants, there was often language in the vein of “The Croats say that they are persecuted...” or “The Slovenians claim that...” or “Locals want secession because...”).

Using additional language for “secession” (independence, sovereignty, autonomy, separatism) cast a wider net to secure articles about the smaller cases, and ensured that some movements where different phrasing dominated were not excluded. For example, while Bougainville uses the term “secession” almost exclusively, the majority of the Kurdish movements shy away from that language, preferring to use “autonomy” or “independence.” There was often a reluctance to use the word secession by participants, perhaps for strategic purposes.

Searches were conducted on two years on either side of the movement start date, assuming that the normative appeals deployed by participants would be fairly stable or regularized inside of this five-year window. The analysis returned a total of 3,479 articles, an average of twenty-six per movement.

Next, the RA searched for the following terms as a way to capture utterances associated with the different normative appeals:

Earned sovereignty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Equal</i> (to isolate instances only when it was used in conjunction with terms such as “equal footing,” “equal representation,” “equal partnership,” and “equal status”)</li> <li>- <i>Formalise</i>, and associated synonyms <i>upgrade, convert, conversion, and promotion</i> (i.e. of status)</li> <li>- <i>De facto</i></li> </ul>
Freedom to choose	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Choose</i> (and derivatives <i>choice, chosen</i>), and synonyms <i>determine, decide, decision</i></li> <li>- <i>Democracy</i> and <i>democratic</i> (to isolate instances when the legitimacy or constitutionality of the independence tactic were emphasised – appeals being made to the movement’s own democratic nature, or to the home state’s democratic nature).</li> <li>- <i>Destiny</i> and synonyms <i>future</i> and <i>fate</i> – a very regularised pattern of freedom to choose appeals articulates it as “right to decide our own future,” and “freedom to choose its fate”. These words were used as a means of triangulating this class of utterances, as the terms are otherwise uncommon in these articles (unlike, for example, the word “constitutional,” which appears in irrelevant ways quite frequently in these articles).</li> </ul>
Decolonisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Coloni</i>—(for derivatives <i>decolonisation, colonialism</i>)</li> <li>- <i>Occup</i>—(for derivatives <i>occupied, occupation</i>)</li> <li>- <i>Liberat</i>—(for derivatives <i>liberation, liberate</i>)</li> </ul>
Inherent sovereignty/foreign invasion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Inva</i>—(for derivatives <i>invaded, invasion</i>)</li> <li>- <i>Terra nullius</i></li> <li>- <i>Sovereignty</i> (to isolated instances when the term was used to claim “sovereignty never ceded,” “sovereignty never relinquished,”</li> </ul>

	<p>“sovereignty never eliminated,”  “inherent sovereignty,” “original  sovereignty” etc.)</p>
Human rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Genocide</i></li> <li>- <i>Ethnic cleansing</i></li> <li>- <i>Human rights</i></li> <li>- <i>Oppression, repression, suppression</i></li> <li>- Specific terms for acts: <i>massacre, slaughter, brutality, torture</i></li> </ul>

The final results for tactics by movement are listed in the appendix below.

## Appendix<sup>1</sup>

Kind	Home State	Secessionist Movement	Year	Compellence Tactics			Tactics of Normative Appeal				
				Institutional	Nonviolent Extra	Violent Extra	Earned sovereignty	Freedom to choose	Decolonisation	Inherent sovereignty	Human rights
1	Cyprus	Northern Cyprus	1983	0	1	1	23	0	0	1	0
1	Azerbaijan	Artsakh	1991	1	0	1	12	1	1	0	0
1	Moldova	Transnistria	1991	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
1	Moldova	Gagauz	1991	0	1	1	2	1	0	0	1
1	Georgia	South Ossetia	1992	1	1	1	2	0	1	0	2
1	Georgia	Abkhazia	1994	1	1	1	9	1	0	0	1
1/2	Somalia	Somaliland	1991	0	1	1	4	1	3	0	2
2	Indonesia	West Papua	1975	0	1	1	1	3	4	0	0
2	Morocco	Saharawis	1976	0	1	1	0	3	11	4	1
2	Cameroon	Southern Cameroon	1999	0	1	1	5	2	10	0	4
2	Indonesia	East Timor	1999	1	1	1	0	1	6	3	7
3	Denmark	Faeroe Islands	1946	1	0	0	0	3	1	0	0
3	Italy	Giulians	1947	1	1	1	0	1	2	0	0
3	Israel	Palestinians I	1947	0	1	1	0	5	0	2	0
3	Burma	Shans	1958	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
3	Burma	Kachin II	1961	0	1	1	2	0	1	0	0
3	Canada	Quebec	1962	1	1	1	7	1	7	0	0
3	Uganda	Bankonjo I	1963	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
3	India	Meitei	1964	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
3	Italy	Sardinia	1965	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	Italy	South Tyrol	1965	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	1
3	India	Mizos	1966	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
3	UK	Northern Ireland	1968	1	1	1	0	3	1	0	0
3	France	Brittany	1970	1	0	1	2	0	6	0	0
3	Papua New Guinea	Bougainville II	1975	1	1	1	0	2	1	0	0
3	France	Basques	1975	1	1	1	0	3	2	0	1
3	France	Corsica	1978	1	1	1	0	2	8	0	0
3	India	Tripuras	1978	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
3	Sri Lanka	Tamils	1981	1	1	1	2	8	4	1	2
3	Turkey	Kurds II	1984	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
3	India	Boro/Bodo	1986	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
3	India	Sikhs II	1986	1	1	1	0	2	0	0	0
3	Israel	Palestinians II	1988	0	1	1	0	5	26	1	0
3	India	Assam	1989	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	1
3	India	Kashmir II	1989	1	1	1	1	9	2	2	3
3	Papua New Guinea	Bougainville II	1990	0	1	1	0	2	2	0	3
3	Philippines	Abu Sayyaf	1991	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
3	Bosnia	Serbs	1992	0	1	1	1	4	0	0	2
3	Bosnia	Croats	1992	0	1	1	2	2	0	2	0
3	Ukraine	Crimea	1992	1	0	0	2	7	0	1	0
3	UK	Scotland	1992	1	1	0	1	9	0	0	0
3	Russia	Tatars	1992	1	1	0	5	4	2	0	0
3	South Africa	Inkatha	1994	1	1	1	0	5	1	1	1
3	St. Kitts and Nevis	Nevis	1996	1	0	0	0	6	0	0	0
3	Italy	Padania	1996	1	1	0	0	4	7	0	1
3	France	Savoy	1997	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
3	Solomon Islands	Guadalcanal	1999	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	1
3	Spain	Basques III	2000	1	1	1	0	15	3	1	2
3	Italy	Sardinia	2002	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	Yugoslavia	Montenegro	2006	1	0	0	4	12	0	0	0
3	Comoros	Anjouan II	2007	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0
3	Yugoslavia	Kosovo	2008	1	1	1	3	6	2	0	10
4	New Zealand	Maori	1975	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	USA	Hawaii	1994	1	1	0	0	4	11	14	3
4	USA	Lokatah	2007	1	1	0	0	0	2	6	1
5	China	Eastern Mongols	1946	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0
5	India	Kashmir I	1947	1	0	1	0	8	0	0	1
5	India	Hyderabad	1948	1	0	1	2	0	0	2	0
5	India	Nagas	1948	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
5	China	Tibet II	1950	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0
5	China	Hui	1953	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
5	China	Tibet III	1956	0	0	1	0	0	4	2	0
5	China	Tibet IV	1979	0	1	0	0	2	0	1	0
5	USSR	Ajars	1988	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	USSR	Abkhazia	1989	1	1	0	3	0	0	0	0
5	China	Uighurs	1990	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1

<sup>1</sup> For Kinds: 1 = *de facto*; 2 = decolonial, 3 = democratized, 4 = indigenous legal, 5 = weak combative, 6 = strong combative.

Kind	Home State	Secessionist Movement	Year	Compellence Tactics			Tactics of Normative Appeal					
				Institutional	Nonviolent Extra	Violent Extra	Earned sovereignty	Freedom to choose	Decolonisation	Inherent sovereignty	Human rights	
5	USSR	South Ossetia	1990	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	3
5	USSR	Chechnya I	1991	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
5	USSR	Azeris	1991	1	0	0	0	2	6	2	4	4
5	USSR	Tajiks	1991	1	0	0	1	6	0	0	1	1
5	USSR	Khvrgiz	1991	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0
5	USSR	Uzbeks	1991	1	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	0
5	USSR	Kazakhs	1991	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
5	USSR	Moldova	1991	1	1	0	0	5	3	0	1	1
5	USSR	Estonians II	1991	1	1	0	1	0	3	0	1	1
5	USSR	Latvians II	1991	1	1	0	3	3	6	0	1	1
5	USSR	Lithuanians III	1991	1	1	0	1	6	3	0	1	1
5	USSR	Ukrainians II	1991	1	1	0	1	13	0	0	1	1
5	USSR	Belarus	1991	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
5	USSR	Georgia	1991	1	1	0	1	0	6	4	5	5
5	USSR	Turkomen	1991	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	USSR	Armenia	1991	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	3
5	Russia	Dagestan	1999	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
5	Russia	Chechnya II	1999	1	0	1	6	1	1	0	3	3
6	Pakistan	Pashuns	1947	1	1	0	0	3	0	0	4	4
6	Burma	Arakanese I	1948	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
6	Burma	Kachin I	1949	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	Burma	Karenni	1949	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	Burma	Karens	1949	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
6	Burma	Mons	1949	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	Indonesia	Atjeh I	1950	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
6	Indonesia	Ambonese	1950	1	1	1	0	2	0	1	0	0
6	Sudan	South Sudan I	1956	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	2	2
6	Pakistan	Baluch	1958	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	2	2
6	Indonesia	Sulawesi	1958	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
6	Dem Rep Congo	Stanleyville	1960	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	Dem Rep Congo	South Katanga	1960	1	1	1	3	1	1	0	0	0
6	Dem Rep Congo	South Kasai	1960	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	2
6	Ivory Coast	Anyi	1961	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	Ethiopia	Somali I	1963	0	0	1	0	0	8	0	2	2
6	Thailand	Malays	1963	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
6	Vietnam	Chams	1964	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	Nigeria	Edos	1967	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
6	Nigeria	Ibros	1967	0	1	1	0	2	2	0	22	22
6	Spain	Basques II	1968	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	7	7
6	Pakistan	E. Pakistan	1971	1	1	1	0	1	5	0	12	12
6	Iraq	Kurds I	1972	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	3	3
6	Philippines	Mindanao	1972	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	7	7
6	Spain	Catalans III	1974	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	2
6	Angola	Cabinda	1975	0	1	1	0	1	4	0	0	0
6	Bangladesh	Chittagong	1975	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	Iran	Kurds II	1979	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	5	5
6	Burma	Arakanese II	1980	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	5	5
6	Iraq	Kurds II	1980	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
6	Senegal	Casamance	1982	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	Uganda	Bankonjo II	1986	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	Indonesia	Atjeh II	1988	0	1	1	0	0	4	0	20	20
6	Namibia	Basters (Rehoboth)	1990	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
6	Yugoslavia	Slovenia	1990	1	0	1	0	6	0	0	0	0
6	Ethiopia	Tigray II	1991	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	7	7
6	Yugoslavia	Croatia	1991	1	0	1	0	7	0	0	0	0
6	Yugoslavia	Macedonia	1991	1	1	0	4	1	0	0	0	0
6	Iraq	Kurds III	1991	0	1	1	2	4	0	0	13	13
6	Croatia	Serbs	1992	0	1	1	0	4	0	0	3	3
6	Yugoslavia	Bosnia	1992	1	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	1
6	Azerbaijan	Talysh	1993	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	Ethiopia	Eritrea	1993	1	1	1	4	9	2	0	1	1
6	Yemen	South Yemen I	1994	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
6	Ethiopia	Somali II	1994	1	1	1	0	2	4	0	0	0
6	Iraq	Kurds IV	1995	0	1	1	3	0	0	0	7	7
6	Comoros	Moheli	1997	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	Comoros	Anjouan I	1997	0	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	0
6	Namibia	Lozi	1998	1	1	1	0	6	0	0	3	3
6	Yemen	South Yemen	2007	0	1	1	0	1	4	0	4	4
6	Sudan	South Sudan II	2011	1	1	1	2	3	0	0	11	11
6	Burma	Kachin III	2011	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	10	10